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## TWENTY-SEVEN YEARS OF LUNACY STATISTICS IN SCOTLAND.

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EXTRACTED FROM THE TWENTY-SEVENTH ANNUAL REPORT  
OF THE  
GENERAL BOARD OF COMMISSIONERS IN  
LUNACY FOR SCOTLAND.

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1885.

## I. THE STATISTICS OF LUNACY FROM 1858 TO 1885.

Since the 1st of January 1858, when we entered on our functions, the total number of lunatics officially known to the Board and on their registers has increased from 5,823 to 10,918.

In Table I. of Appendix A. we give the number of private and pauper lunatics of whom we had official cognisance, exclusive of the inmates of the Lunatic Department of the General Prison, and of Training Schools for Imbecile Children, at 1st January 1858 and at 1st January of each year up to the present time, distinguishing the numbers of each category accommodated in establishments and in private dwellings, and also distinguishing between the sexes. The number of private and pauper patients and the modes of disposing of them are shown by this Table to have undergone the following changes:—

	Increase since 1858.
1. Private Patients:—	
a. In Establishments, . . . .	450
b. In Private Dwellings, . . . .	110
2. Pauper Patients:—	
a. In Establishments, . . . .	4221
b. In Private Dwellings, . . . .	77
Total, . . .	4858

It is worthy of note that the number of pauper patients in private dwellings, which was 1784 in 1858, has been, with the exception of the two years immediately following, below that number ever since, until the last two years, when, as shown in the tabular statement, it has stood at 1811 in 1884, and at 1861 in 1885.

The mode in which lunatics of all classes were provided for on the 1st of January 1858, and the mode in which they have been provided for on the 1st of January of each year since that time, is given in Table II. (Appendix A). The following statement shows the difference between the modes of distribution at the beginning and at the end of the whole period:—

	At 1st January 1858.	At 1st January 1885.	Increase since 1858.	Decrease since 1858.
In Royal and District Asylums,	2380	6305	3925	...
,, Private Asylums, . . .	745	148	...	597
,, Parochial Asylums and Lunatic Wards of Poor- houses, . . . .	839	2183	1344	...
,, Private Dwellings, . . . .	1804	1991	187	...
,, The Lunatic Department of the General Prison, . . .	26	53	27	...
,, Training Schools, . . . .	29	238	209	...
Total Increase or Decrease,			5692	597

These figures show that, of the increase of 5692 which has taken place in the population of public establishments, 597 may be due to a decrease in the number of patients in private asylums. Deducting these, we have had since 1858 a net increase of 5095 in the number of lunatics under the jurisdiction of the Board, or 88 per cent. The increase of the population during the same period has been only 28 per cent.\* We have frequently pointed out that the difference in these rates of increase does not necessarily indicate an increasing amount of mental disease, and that it is probably due in a large measure to what is only an increasing readiness to place persons more or less disordered in mind as lunatics in establishments.

Part of the information furnished by Table III. (Appendix A.) is similar to what is furnished in Table I.; but in Table III. the figures are given in their proportions to population, so that the increase or decrease from year to year can be measured independently of what may be due to differences in the total numbers of the population. The most important facts thus obtained are, that after making allowance for the increased population of the country, the number of private lunatics in asylums has increased 12 per cent. since 1858, and that the number of pauper lunatics in asylums and similar establishments has increased 89 per cent. The proportion of pauper lunatics in asylums to the population had decreased during 1883 to 185, from 188 per 100,000, which was the proportion in 1882; and it remained in 1883 and last year at 185. It was in our Twenty-fifth Report that we were able for the first time to report a decrease in the number of pauper lunatics in asylums in proportion to the population of the country, and it is pleasing this year, though we are unable to report a further decrease, to be able to say that there has been no increase. In dealing with these figures it is always necessary to bear in mind that private asylums of the class which received patients at the lowest rates have now entirely disappeared in Scotland. There is reason to believe that many patients belonging to the class formerly provided for as private patients in these establishments, are now provided for as paupers in public establishments.

#### THE INCREASE IN THE NUMBER OF LUNATICS.

Increase in  
Number of  
Lunatics.

No fact connected with the statistics of lunacy has attracted so much attention as the remarkable increase which has taken place in the number of lunatics since the establishment of the present system of lunacy administration; and none is more worthy of careful consideration. We have frequently stated in these Reports that there is no reason to believe that this increase is due to any great extent, if at all, to an increased prevalence of mental disease in the community. The very magnitude of the increase forbids us to admit that it can be attributed to this

\* The population is calculated according to the estimated populations given by the Registrar-General for the middle of 1857 and of 1884.

19th  
Cent  
C 450  
53  
46  
85

Statistics of  
Lunacy,  
1858-85.

Statistics of  
Lunacy,  
1858 &c.

—  
Increase in the  
Number of  
Lunatics.

cause. The total number in Scotland at 1st January 1858, was 5823; and as we have seen, the increase since then amounts to 5095; and even if we date from the year 1860, when the new system had had time to get into regular order, the increase is 4645. This increase is shown in the statistical tables to consist chiefly of an increase in the number of pauper lunatics. The number of lunatics given in the official statistics of any country is mainly dependent on the nature of the conditions which the Legislature has prescribed as requiring official interference or sanction. The circumstances which in Scotland bring a person upon the register as a private lunatic have been already explained (see p. xxxiv). It is evident from what was then stated, that there are many insane persons, not paupers, whose registration is not required under the present law, but who would have been subject to registration had the provisions of the law been more comprehensive. A law, for example, which required the registration of every insane person, whether living at home or not, and whether suffering from temporary or long-continued insanity, would bring a much greater number on the register than there is at present on the register in Scotland, where the law does not contain these requirements. It is important, therefore, when comparing the statistics of different countries, or of the same country at different periods, to ascertain how far the laws under which the different sets of statistics have been created differ from one another. As has been already stated, the increase in the number of private lunatics is little more, especially if the patients in asylums only are considered, than is accounted for by the increase in the population of the country. We incline to the opinion that the small increase in the number of this class of patients which our registers show may be fully explained by the improvements which have taken place in asylum treatment, and the consequent greater disposition on the part of the public to avail themselves of it. The increase which is shown in the number registered as private patients in private dwellings, we believe to be entirely due to a more general recognition of the requirements of the law, and a consequent more complete registration of cases. But the reasons which seem sufficient to account for the increase which has taken place in the number of private patients are quite inadequate to account for the increased number of pauper patients. The increase since 1860 is enormously greater than can be accounted for by the increased population of the country. The increase due to this cause would only be 1416, while the actual increase is 3809, or 2393 more. In inquiring into the nature of the actual increase in the number of pauper patients it will be convenient to look separately at the two great divisions,—those resident in establishments and those resident in private dwellings,—and the first thing which attracts attention in looking at the statistics of the two classes is that the increase consists almost entirely of an increase in the number of the former class. Since 1860 there has been an increase of 3795 in the number of pauper patients in establishments, and of only 14 in the number of pauper patients in private dwellings.

The natural increase in the number of pauper patients in establishments, due to the increased population of the country since 1860, would be 916. The increase has actually been 3795, or 2879 more than is due to the increase in the general population. That is to say, were the population of 1885 constituted proportionally like the population of 1860, there would be 2879 persons at large who are now in establishments as pauper lunatics. That this difference between the two periods may be accounted for to some extent by an increase in the proportion of mental disease in the community, it would be impossible to disprove; but we believe it to be equally impossible to prove it. And it is undoubtedly due for the most part, if not altogether, to the action of legislative enactments such as the lunacy law and the poor law, to the action of the Government grant for pauper lunatics, to the increasing tendency in recent times to treat as lunatics those who suffer from the less pronounced kinds of mental weakness or perversion, and to the greater facilities that are afforded for obtaining care and treatment for them in special institutions.

The pauper patients in private dwellings have not increased in number in proportion to the general increase of population. If they had done so there would have been an increase of 501, and the actual increase is only 14. There has thus been, if the increased population is allowed for, a virtual decrease of 487. This decrease, as we shall have occasion afterwards to show more in detail, has affected chiefly the paupers living with relatives. These in 1860 numbered 1432, and had they retained their proportional position they should have now numbered 1820; but they only amount to 935. The residence of pauper lunatics with relatives was therefore nearly twice as frequent in 1860 as it is now. On the other hand there has been both an actual and a proportional increase in the number of pauper lunatics boarded with strangers.\* These in 1860 numbered 415, and had they retained their proportional position they should have now numbered 527. But they now amount to 926 which is not far from twice as many. We thus see that the smaller proportion of pauper lunatics in private dwellings, results entirely from a decrease in the number resident with relatives. Many patients are no doubt with great advantage placed with strangers, rather than with relatives, but the extent to which it is now done is not regarded by the Board as in itself a desirable change, and we shall have occasion subsequently to show how it has been brought about.

#### THE STATISTICS ARE AFFECTED BOTH BY THE LUNACY LAW AND THE POOR LAW.

We have no reliable statistics applicable to Great Britain to illustrate the amount of influence which a lunacy law by itself

\* A few cases of patients living alone are included in the number stated to be boarded with strangers; but these were so small in number in 1860 that it has not been thought necessary to eliminate them from the figures given above. Since 1860, such cases have almost ceased to occur.

Statistics of  
Lunacy,  
1858-85.

Increase in the  
Number of  
Pauper  
Lunatics in  
Establish-  
ments.

Decrease in  
proportion to  
Population of  
the Number  
of Pauper  
Lunatics  
Private  
Dwellings.

Statistics of  
Lunacy,  
1858-85.

Changes due  
both to Lunacy  
Laws and Poor  
Laws.

may exercise in increasing the number of persons officially recognised as insane, unless we accept the statistics of private patients as sufficient for the purpose. These show that from the year 1858 until 1885 there has been an increase in Scotland from 35 per 100,000 of population, to 41 per 100,000, or a total increase of 6 per 100,000 in 27 years. The increase in England and Wales since 1844, the year when the first complete official statistics were collected under the present system till 1884, was from 25 to 30 per 100,000, or a total increase of 5 per 100,000 in 37 years. It would be unsafe, however, to draw any important inferences from these figures, as the proportion of the population possessed of sufficient means to keep it out of reach of the action of the poor law, or refraining from taking advantage of its provisions, is not a constant proportion, varying as it does according to the degrees of commercial and industrial prosperity of different periods. The statistics of France may be taken as illustrating the action of a lunacy law uncomplicated with the concomitant action of a poor law. In that country no poor law exists; that is to say, no person can there enforce a legal right to assistance from the public. In the French statistics we find that in 1838, the year in which the present lunacy law came into force, there were, including both rich and poor, 35 persons per 100,000 who were in asylums and officially recognised as lunatics, and that they had increased in 1884 to 130 per 100,000, representing a total increase of 95 per 100,000 in 46 years. The total number of persons, both private and pauper, officially recognised as lunatics in England and Wales in the year 1844 was 20,893, or 127 per 100,000 of the population, being nearly equal to the proportion attained up to present time in France. Of this 20,893, 16,821, or 102 per 100,000 were paupers. The total number in 1884 was 78,528, or 289 per 100,000, and of this number 70,470, or nearly 260 per 100,000 were paupers. The total increase per 100,000 of the population has therefore been 152 in 37 years, 147 being due to pauper lunacy alone.

For Scotland we have no statement of the total number officially recognised either as private or as pauper lunatics until the Lunacy Act of 1857 came into operation, at which time this Board was established. The number of persons then officially recognised was 5768, or 192 per 100,000 of the population. Of this 192 per 100,000, 35 were private patients and 157 were paupers. The total number has now increased to 10,627 or 274 per 100,000; and of this 274, 41 are private patients and 233 are paupers. It has to be kept in mind, however, that previous to the passing of the Lunacy Act of 1857, there had been for several years in operation the Poor Law Act of 1845, which contained provisions partaking somewhat of a lunacy law as well as a poor law. Under the action of this law, the class of pauper lunatics was constituted and rapidly increased in number. In 1846 there were 3023, or 109 per 100,000 of the population, classed as lunatic paupers. There had thus been a proportional increase of 48 during thirteen years, or an average of nearly 4 per 100,000 per annum. At the commencement of the period, 1402, or 51 per 100,000, were accommodated in asylums, and 1621,

Influence of  
the Scottish  
Poor Law on  
Lunacy  
Statistics.

or 58 per 100,000, in poorhouses or private dwellings. At the end of the period 2120, or 70 per 100,000, were accommodated in asylums, and 2617, or 87 per 100,000, in poorhouses or private dwellings. The increase in the proportionate number of pauper lunatics, from the year 1846 up to the present time, has been from 109 to 233, or an increase of 124 per 100,000 in 39 years.

By the Act of 1857, the supervision of pauper as well as private lunatics was entrusted to the General Board of Lunacy. The features of the new law which chiefly distinguish it from the old are the provision which it makes for supplying asylum accommodation at the cost of the county rates, and the more complete provision which it makes for inspection and supervision.

It is evident that the effect of a lunacy law upon the statistics must be different from the effect of a poor law. The function of a lunacy law is to protect the public from being injured by lunatics, to protect lunatics from being injured by others or by themselves and to provide for their proper treatment. The function of a poor law is to give a legal right to relief to those who are not possessed of the means of livelihood and who are incapacitated from earning one, and to afford such relief. The first lunacy law in Scotland (2 Robert ii. c. 24), recognised the irresponsibility of lunatics and was directed to the placing of them in safe custody; and the only other legislative enactments before 1857 are the Acts of 1815, 1829, and 1842, which were directed to the regulation of their confinement and treatment. No official statement of their number was provided for. In the early part of the present century few establishments of a public character for the treatment of the insane existed, and the usual proceeding was to place them under the charge of private persons, either singly or in private madhouses. According to the ideas of insanity prevalent at the time, only persons suffering from the graver forms of mental disorder were thought deserving of the name of lunatic. A madhouse was regarded as essentially a place for safe custody, and it was only in the case of persons whose condition involved obvious danger to others that confinement there was thought to be justifiable. The idea of an asylum as a place specially adapted for the cure of insanity scarcely existed, and had not at least been carried into practice; and the way in which the inmates of madhouses were treated was such that it could only be in cases where no other course seemed possible that humane persons would consign their relatives to such establishments. The nature of what was regarded as insanity may be inferred from the doctrines laid down in courts of law; and the statement would admit of few exceptions, that no one was held irresponsible for crime up to the commencement of the present century, unless he were utterly void of understanding. The doctrine had not diverged much from that which only admitted of irresponsibility in the case of those who were furious. And it would be easy to give quotations showing that this term implied a very extreme degree of insanity.

During the first half of the present century a considerable change took place in public and professional opinion as to what constitutes

Statistics of Lunacy,  
1858-85.

Influence of the Scottish Poor Law.

Lunacy Act of 1857.

Lunacy Laws previous to 1857.

Statistics of  
Lunacy,  
1858-85.

Changes in  
Opinion  
regarding  
Insanity  
during the  
present  
century.

Persons now  
recognised as  
Lunatics who  
would not  
formerly have  
been so  
recognised.

No increase in  
the Number of  
Persons sent  
as Private  
Patients to  
Asylums.

insanity. The necessity for exempting from punishment many persons whose mental disorder did not amount to complete overthrow of the reasoning faculty was recognised; and with the establishment of an improved class of asylums, the use of these institutions as hospitals for the treatment and cure of the insane, rather than merely as places for their safe custody came more and more into view. These changes were associated with a clearer perception of the intimate relation which subsists between mental disturbance and disorder of the physical organisation, and it followed from this that not only were many persons henceforth sent to asylums labouring under mental disorders of a less violent character, but many conditions came to be recognised as of the nature of insanity which had not previously been so regarded. Legislative sanction was given to this broader view by the introduction into the Acts under which the lunacy administration of the kingdom is now carried on of the definition of the word lunatic as including every person of unsound mind.

It will thus be readily understood that a large number of persons are now sent to asylums and officially recognised as lunatics who would not formerly have been so recognised. And it would be reasonable to suppose that the increasing excellence of the accommodation provided in asylums for the affluent classes, and the consequent greater efficiency of these institutions as instruments of cure, together with the elastic nature of the term unsoundness of mind, would lead to a continuous increase in the proportion of persons sent to them. This would make us expect a considerable increase in the number both of private and pauper lunatics. But the increase in the proportional number of private patients in England and Scotland has not been greater than from 15 to 20 per cent. since the present lunacy laws came into operation. And the increase as far as Scotland is concerned is not an increase in the number of patients sent to asylums, but only in the number resident there. The average annual number per 100,000 of the population sent as private patients to asylums in Scotland during the five years 1860-64 was 12.5, and the corresponding number for the five years 1880-84 was only 12. There has thus been a slight decrease; and the number of private patients in asylums has only increased by an accumulation due to the number of patients annually removed from the asylums or dying (see the numbers given for quinquennial periods in the Tables; Appendix A.), these being only 90 to 93 for every 100 admitted. It will probably be not without a feeling of surprise that it is learnt that the proportion of persons sent as private patients to asylums has decreased rather than increased during the past twenty-five years, when the influences likely to have produced a contrary effect are considered. There is no doubt, however, that these influences have had a considerable effect, and that there would have been a very appreciable increase shown by the figures, had not a considerable number of persons in recent times come into asylums as pauper patients, who would previously have been placed as private patients in asylums receiving patients at very low rates of board, these establishments having now ceased to exist in Scotland.

The same causes which, under the lunacy laws, have affected the

statistics of private patients, have no doubt had their influence upon the statistics of pauper patients. But in their case we have to account for an increase in the proportional numbers, not of 15 or 20 per cent., but for an increase of 48 per cent. for Scotland, and of 155 per cent. for England, if we count from the years 1858, and 1844 respectively; or if we count from 1846 for Scotland we have to account for an increase of 114 per cent. in this part of the kingdom. To account for this enormous increase we have, however, the powerful influence of the poor law to take into consideration. As has already been stated a certain portion of the increase in the number of pauper patients in asylums, is due to persons being sent there as paupers who would formerly have been sent as private patients. And a not inconsiderable portion is due to mere accumulation from the numbers removed and dying annually being less than the numbers admitted. The average number of removals and deaths has been 91 for every 100 admitted, and the average number in the last quinquenniad was 94 for every 100.

Several reasons conduce to make the number of persons officially recognised as pauper lunatics a large one. One important reason is that the occurrence of insanity is often sufficient to reduce the subject of it to pauperism. Another is that all paupers who are insane come upon the official register of lunatics; differing in this from non-paupers, many of whom though insane are not on the register. And the provision of abundant asylum accommodation for pauper lunatics in localities convenient for different districts has had much to do with the increase in the number on the register. But another reason which specially arises out of the operation of the poor law, is that an element was introduced into the consideration, when determining the existence of lunacy, in poor law administration, which had not previously required to be taken into account. This element is the capacity for self support. When the first enumeration of "furious or fatuous, or lunatic" paupers, was made by the poor law authorities in 1846, the determination of the question of what persons should be included in the list was made according to the views then generally held, as to the degree of mental weakness or perversion which was implied in these terms. After the supervision of lunatics came into the hands of the Board by the Act of 1857, it was found that widely divergent opinions were entertained by parochial authorities and medical men as to this question, and these are referred to in considerable detail in the early reports of the Board. It will be sufficient here to refer to one case as an illustration of the more restricted view of what could properly be regarded as lunacy, characteristic of an earlier period, but which was not even then entirely abandoned. The patient referred to is described in our First Report (p. xxx.), as "a large heavy woman, forty-three years of age, subject to frequent and severe fits of epilepsy, which on passing off leave her excited, affected with hallucinations, violent and destructive, and difficult to manage. Her mental powers by the effects of the disease are permanently impaired." In regard to this woman, a certificate by a medical man of good position containing the following statement, was transmitted to the Board. "I find that for many years she has been subject to frequent attacks of epilepsy, and that during the

Statistics of Lunacy,  
1858-85.

Great Increase  
in the Number  
of Pauper  
Lunatics.

Reasons for  
the Increase in  
the Number  
of Pauper  
Lunatics.

Statistics of  
Lunacy  
1858-59.

Reasons for  
the Increase  
in the Number  
of Pauper  
Lunatics.

cerebral excitement attendant upon these, she is liable to have morbid ideas and delusions of various kinds, which, however, appear to be temporary and to subside as the effect of the fit subsides. When she has any considerable interval free from the epileptic paroxysms, she assists in the ordinary work of her mother's house, and there is no allegation of her being, or ever having been, dangerous to herself or others. The repeated invasions of her disease may no doubt have somewhat impaired the strength of her intellect and memory, but I have failed to observe for myself, or to ascertain from others any facts indicating what would amount to insanity." As illustrations of opinions of a very different character, the following quotations may be made from certificates on the support of which an order was granted by a Sheriff for the transmission of a patient to an asylum; "the patient will not work to support himself, and seems otherwise weak-minded;" and "he refuses to answer questions, and, although in possession of good health, does nothing towards maintaining himself; he also appears a simple weak-minded person." The man referred to in this last case may without hesitation be regarded as a person who would never have been declared a lunatic until the poor law came into force. During the past twenty-seven years, though it has been rather discouraged than encouraged by the Board, the tendency in regard to paupers has been in the direction of accepting slighter and slighter indications of unsoundness of mind as evidence of insanity; and at the present time it frequently happens that the failure of memory and the confusion of mind common in old age is held to be sufficient to justify certificates of lunacy. This willingness to accept the slighter indications of unsoundness of mind as sufficient, has been specially apparent since the Government grant in aid of the maintenance of pauper lunatics has made it the interest of Parochial Boards to find evidence of lunacy in as many paupers as possible.

It is not necessary here to inquire whether the extension of the conception of what constitutes insanity, which has taken place under the operation of the poor law, is desirable or not; but it is of importance to the public to recognise the fact that it has taken place and to endeavour to perceive its consequences. Its effect on the statistics has been to supplement very considerably the other influences which have been referred to as having increased the number of pauper lunatics. But there are consequences of a less direct kind which should not be lost sight of. The opinion of the public, and more especially the opinions of medical men, in regard to the relations of insanity, not only to pauperism, but also to many social and juridical questions must also be affected by it. Those who are engaged either in certifying the insanity of paupers, or in superintending the asylums in which pauper lunatics are resident, must base their views of what constitutes insanity upon what they find to be the condition of those whom they habitually deal with as lunatics; and they cannot avoid carrying into other spheres the ideas which have been developed by the relation of insanity to pauperism. For the purpose of the subject at present before us it is sufficient to draw attention to the intimate connection which subsists between the two questions of pauperism and the statistics of lunacy. It will be seen, in the

Important  
consequences  
of the change  
in the view  
of what  
constitutes  
Insanity.

following examination of the statistics of pauper lunacy, that attention will have to be frequently directed to considerations which involve questions relating to pauperism rather than to lunacy. The influences which under the poor law had affected the statistics, continued to affect them after the passing of the Lunacy Act, and in considering the further development of the statistics, this continued action of the poor law must not be forgotten. Attention may now be drawn to the following tabular statement, which shows in a comprehensive manner, the statistics of pauper lunacy in the different counties of Scotland, commencing with the year 1860.

Statistics of  
Lunacy,  
1858-85.  
Relation  
between  
Pauperism  
and Lunacy.

COUNTIES.	Annual Average per 100,000 of the Population of Pauper Lunatics Resident in Establishments.					Annual Average per 100,000 of the Population of Pauper Lunatics Resident in Private Dwellings.					Annual Average per 100,000 of the Population of Pauper Lunatics Resident in Private Dwellings.				
	Quinquennials.					Quinquennials.					Quinquennials.				
	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
Aberdeen,	35	38	39	43	48	13	129	138	155	175	210	81	3	3	3
Argyll,	22	28	36	43	51	11	125	180	259	329	204	70	9	11	15
Ayr,	22	28	36	43	51	11	90	125	161	172	102	71	5	7	7
Banff,	18	26	29	32	42	10	73	114	147	167	198	91	4	4	4
Berwick,	24	24	35	32	19	8	85	104	170	202	147	82	4	4	4
Bute,	35	24	52	54	54	19	112	113	163	258	247	85	4	5	5
Cairnsmore,	18	22	19	32	37	19	90	91	118	163	183	93	12	9	17
Caithness,	18	21	37	44	43	25	1	100	118	140	166	142	42	8	3
Clackmannan,	27	29	37	42	43	16	1	93	107	122	148	148	55	1	1
Dumbarton,	31	40	40	45	44	13	1	131	170	189	199	195	64	-4	1
Dunbarton,	19	53	60	65	65	16	5	159	177	172	181	181	9	1	1
Elgin,	32	25	38	47	57	23	10	124	138	143	167	136	12	5	5
Fife,	25	23	35	43	18	8	25	120	130	129	133	180	60	7	7
Forfar,	34	41	40	59	59	25	11	159	173	194	244	244	85	50	51
Haddington,	23	40	39	43	64	36	21	156	173	183	202	253	97	6	1
Hawick,	14	30	39	37	56	42	19	93	139	165	193	118	8	13	20
Inverness,	36	32	34	31	45	9	14	63	169	184	172	185	24	3	3
Kincardine,	13	50	17	31	57	44	26	129	197	231	299	301	172	2	3
Kinross,	34	42	27	30	44	8	147	145	159	168	151	151	-17	4	5
Kirkcudbright,	35	42	47	56	58	23	2	90	104	112	125	143	58	20	2
Lanark,	27	28	32	42	63	36	11	94	112	116	124	153	34	1	1
Linlithgow,	18	23	17	45	69	51	24	134	149	148	169	226	92	8	2
Nairn,	13	18	11	26	37	24	11	67	71	107	133	66	26	7	12
Orkney,	42	21	38	40	31	-11	1	-9	111	177	193	185	161	-24	9
Peebles,	32	34	41	56	52	20	-4	167	165	207	233	230	60	-3	6
Perth,	53	27	51	54	56	21	2	71	81	98	132	160	85	28	1
Renfrew,	12	21	34	42	30	10	11	91	117	133	215	194	23	12	8
Ross,	28	23	37	34	44	16	10	85	96	104	134	180	95	33	13
Roxburgh,	23	23	37	31	40	17	9	65	70	79	93	106	44	13	7
Selkirk,	11	11	17	30	35	24	5	60	67	96	133	73	13	11	11
Shetland,	27	29	41	55	48	21	-7	100	108	131	169	171	81	2	2
Stirlings,	19	19	18	34	44	25	10	75	82	96	163	230	155	62	6
Sutherland,	22	24	37	34	12	-3	107	131	162	213	192	85	-21	9	1
Wigtown,	31	36	42	49	63	22	4	113	127	142	163	184	71	21	3
SCOTLAND,													53	46	41

DIFFERENCES IN THE STATISTICS OF PAUPER LUNACY IN  
DIFFERENT LOCALITIES.

This tabular statement is an abstract of the information given in Tables X. and XI. (Appendix A). It shows the quinquennial averages per 100,000 of the population—(1) of the number of pauper lunatics annually sent to establishments from each county, (2) of the number resident in establishments, (3) of the number annually left in private dwellings, and (4) of the number resident in private dwellings. It also gives the increase or decrease of the numbers for each county, and for the several categories, from the first quinquenniad to the fifth, and also from the fourth to the fifth.

The first thing which is suggested by a consideration of the statement is the great variety which the statistical history of the several counties presents. The county of Argyll, for example, which during the first quinquenniad sent only a proportion of 23 per 100,000 to establishments, sent no less than 74 during the last, thus showing an increase of 51; while the county of Berwick, which during the first quinquenniad sent 24, a proportion almost identical with that from Argyll, sent 32 during the last, thus showing an increase of only 8. In the statistics of the numbers per 100,000 of the population resident in establishments, we find that the number for Argyll in the first quinquenniad is 125, and the number for the last is 329, being an increase of 204, which may be contrasted with the numbers for Edinburgh, which are 179 for the first quinquenniad, and 181 for the last, being an increase of only 2. And although the number for Edinburgh was in the first period 54 above the number for Argyll, the number for the last period was 148 below that number.

It will help towards an intelligent understanding of the differences between different counties if we select two groups, as was done in our Twenty-second Report. The counties not included in either group are of a mixed character, and therefore present statistical features of a less distinctive kind. The two selected groups consist of—(1) the following counties, which are purely Highland or Insular in character, Argyll, Bute, Caithness, Inverness, Orkney, Ross, Shetland, and Sutherland, and (2) the following counties, which are mainly Lowland in character, Aberdeenshire, Ayr, Clackmannan, Dumbarton, Edinburgh, Fife, Kincardine, Linlithgow, Renfrew, Roxburgh, Selkirk, and Stirling. These two groups differ in many ways, one of the most important in its bearing on the present inquiry being their different positions as regards general pauperism. In the Highland group the pauperism amounts in round numbers to between 1700 and 3500 per 100,000 of population, and in the Lowland Group to between 750 and 1600. The pauperism of the one is thus more than double that of the other, and it will be seen, when the statistics of the pauper lunacy of the two groups of counties are examined, that they have an intimate relationship with that of pauperism.

Statistics of  
Lunacy,  
1858-85.

Differences in  
the Statistics  
of Pauper  
Lunacy in  
different  
Localities.

Quinquenniads.	Average Annual Number of Pauper Lunatics for each Quinquenniad per 100,000 of Population.					
	Highland Group.		Lowland Group.		The whole of Scotland.	
	Admitted.	Resident.	Admitted.	Resident.	Admitted.	Resident.
Establishments.	1860-64	17	92	34	108	31
	1865-69	24	121	38	118	36
	1870-74	33	145	44	130	42
	1875-79	42	188	51	148	49
	1880-84	50	225	54	166	53
Private Dwellings.	1860-64	9	137	2	32	3
	1865-69	9	119	2	27	3
	1870-74	6	110	1	26	2
	1875-79	12	120	1	22	3
	1880-84	13	137	2	28	3

The figures in this and the foregoing tabular statements are the numbers per 100,000 of the population. This permits a true comparison to be made between different localities, irrespective of the differences in the aggregate populations. It is necessary, however, to bear in mind, that it is the proportional numbers, and not the absolute numbers which are dealt with, and it will save needless repetition if this is understood throughout the following remarks.

*a. The Number of Patients sent to Establishments.*

The Number  
of Pauper  
Lunatics sent  
to Establish-  
ments from  
different  
Localities.

It will be observed, in looking at the figures referring to the numbers *sent to* establishments, that in the first quinquenniad, the number sent annually from the Highland counties was 17, which is only one half of 34, the number sent from the Lowland counties. In the subsequent periods the number in both groups increased very considerably; but the increase has been much greater in the Highland than in the Lowland group. In the last quinquenniad, the numbers are 50 for the Highland and 54 for the Lowland group, which may be regarded as nearly equal. These figures furnish one of the many illustrations of the fact, that the statistics cannot be accepted as indicating the degree to which insanity prevails in different places or at different times. It would be absurd to suppose that insanity was only half as prevalent in the Highland counties twenty years ago, as it was in the Lowland counties, and that it is now nearly as prevalent in the one as in the other. The chief reason of the great difference between the two in the earlier period is obviously a circumstance of a very different nature. In the Lowland counties asylum accommodation was, during the first quinquenniad, comparatively easily obtained, while in the Highland counties no asylums existed, and the means of communication at that time

made the transmission of a patient to a locality where such accommodation could be obtained, generally difficult, and in some cases practically impossible. Since that earlier period, asylum accommodation has been so abundantly provided, and the means of communication have been so much improved, that it is nearly as easy in most Highland districts to send a patient to an asylum in a Highland as in a Lowland district, though even in the Lowland districts the facilities have been considerably increased. We have thus an explanation which may be accepted as accounting to a considerable extent, both for the gradual assimilation of the figures of the two groups, and for the increase which has taken place in the figures, even of the Lowland group. Other causes have doubtless also contributed to this increase, but these may be more conveniently referred to further on. We shall next draw attention to the figures referring to the numbers *resident in* establishments, and in order to elucidate these more fully, we shall give here a tabular statement showing the numbers resident in establishments, of pauper lunatics chargeable respectively to parishes included according to the classification of the Registrar-General, in the principal towns of Scotland, in the large towns, and in the small towns, and rural districts. We also give for subsequent consideration the numbers for the same localities resident in private dwellings. In what immediately follows, we shall refer to the figures in this statement, and in the statement on page lvi, which relate to pauper lunatics resident in establishments.

Statistics of Lunacy, 1853-85.

The Number of Pauper Lunatics sent to Establishments from Different Localities.

Quinquenniads.	Average Annual Number of Pauper Lunatics for each Quinquenniad Resident in Establishments per 100,000 of Population.		
	Small Towns and Rural Districts.	Large Towns.	Principal Towns.
Establishments.	1860-64	100	123
	1865-69	120	137
	1870-74	140	145
	1875-79	170	147
	1880-84	191	162
Private Dwellings.	1860-64	82	34
	1865-69	71	29
	1870-74	66	26
	1875-79	63	24
	1880-84	68	34

*b. The Number of Patients Resident in Establishments.*

We find, from looking at these statements, that the number of pauper lunatics resident in establishments, during the first quinquenniad, was nearly equal for the Highland and Lowland counties. This is in marked difference from what we found to be the case when considering the numbers annually sent to establishments. The relation between the number admitted from each group and the number resident is similar to what we showed in our Twenty-fifth Report to subsist between the analogous numbers referring respectively to rural and to urban localities. There are more patients belonging to rural localities resident in establishments, in proportion to the number admitted, than in urban localities; and this is due to the longer period for which those from rural localities are detained. During the first quinquenniad it is to be inferred from the figures that the patients from the Highland counties remained, on the average, five and a half years in establishments; and those from the Lowland counties about three years. In the figures for the last quinquenniad we find the discrepancy still existing, though to a less marked degree. The average period of residence in the Highland counties is reduced to four and a half years, while the period in the Lowland counties remains the same. The greater length of residence for the Highland counties, during the first period, may partly be attributed to the fact that the patients who were sent to asylums at that time consisted more largely than they do now of those whose detention required to be permanent; and to some extent it is probably due to the fact that there was greater hesitation, when the distances and the difficulties of transit were greater, to discharge patients about whose fitness for discharge any doubt might be entertained.

It is a question of some difficulty to determine what is the cause of the specially long detention in establishments to which Highland pauper lunatics are still subjected. There seems to be a greater inability or disinclination on the part of the friends of the patients to take charge of them again, after they have once been sent to asylums, than exists in the Lowland counties. This question may, however, be elucidated by a reference to the statistics of the rural and urban localities. We find that the figures for the large towns always occupy a position intermediate between those of the principal towns and the rural localities. The last two classes may therefore be taken as showing the differences between the features of rural and urban localities in the most pronounced manner. We find then, as might be expected, that they present differences of the same kind as those between the Highland and Lowland counties; but we find that the Highland counties present the rural features in a more salient way than the rural localities in the aggregate do. The number resident for rural localities in the first quinquenniad was less than that for urban localities, but the corresponding number for the Highland counties was still less; and the number resident for rural localities in the last quinquenniad

was greater than that for urban localities, but the corresponding number for the Highland counties was still greater. We may therefore infer that the forces operating in rural localities have been operating with special force in the Highland counties. In our Twenty-fifth Report it was shown that in rural localities ordinary paupers remain on the poor roll a much longer time than in urban localities. In the small towns and rural districts the average length of time for an ordinary pauper to remain on the poor roll is five years, while in the principal towns it is only a year and a quarter, which corresponds to the difference between the two classes of locality in regard to the length of time persons are detained as pauper lunatics. There is this further correspondence between the two sets of statistics that the number of ordinary paupers annually added to the poor roll is less in the rural localities, and the number on the roll at one time is much greater, just as the number sent annually to asylums is less in rural localities, and the average number resident is greater. It may be inferred from this that it is to the social conditions which lead to pauperism of all kinds being a more enduring condition in rural than in urban localities, that the fact that pauper lunatics are less frequently removed from asylums in rural districts is to be attributed. It was shown in our Twenty-fifth Report that the removals of pauper lunatics from the poor roll, and at the same time from asylums, took place more than twice as often in the principal towns as in the rural districts. We again point out, owing to the persistent tendency among writers on the subject to draw erroneous conclusions from the figures, that the greater number of persons permitted to remain in asylums in rural districts does not justify the inference that there is a greater amount of insanity in these districts. The persons removed from asylums by their friends do not cease to be insane, though they ceased to be recognised officially as lunatics. The more frequent occurrence of such removals in urban localities does not therefore decrease the amount of insanity there, though it decreases the official numbers.

With reference to the increase in the number of pauper lunatics since the first quinquenniad, it is not unlikely that it would have been even greater than it has been had there not been a considerable decrease in the aggregate amount of pauperism taking place. It is to be observed, however, that the diminution in the number of ordinary paupers has not occurred in the same proportion in all parts of the country, and this may have some bearing on the different rates of increase in different localities in the number of pauper lunatics. We find, for example, that there were 3764 paupers per 100,000 of population in the Highland counties in 1860, and 2866 in 1884, representing a decrease of 24 per cent.; while in the Lowland counties there were 2212 per 100,000 in 1860, and 1350 in 1884, representing a decrease of 39 per cent. This may help to explain why the number of pauper lunatics in asylums has increased to 225 in the Highland counties, and only to 166 in the Lowland counties. In view of the fact also that the proportion of pauperism of all kinds is so much smaller in the

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—  
The Number  
of Pauper  
Lunatics  
resident in  
Establishments  
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Lowland than in the Highland counties it may be regarded as probable, now that the facilities for obtaining asylum accommodation have been placed so much on an equality for the two groups, that the aggregate amount of pauper lunacy will continue to be smaller in the Lowland than in the Highland counties.

With regard to the rate of increase in the number of pauper lunatics in establishments, it will be observed that the average increase from one quinquenniad to another was 33 for the Highland counties and 14 for the Lowland. The greatest increase was in the Highland counties from the third to the fourth quinquenniad, when it was 43. The increase for the same period in the Lowland counties was 18. The increase in the next period, that is from the fourth to the fifth quinquenniad, was 37 for the Highland and 18 for the Lowland counties. The exceptionally great increase after the third quinquenniad, which ended in the year 1874, is probably due to the influence of the Government grant which was given first in 1875. This influence seems now to have spent its force, for we find, by looking at the statistics of the whole of Scotland for the year since 1874 (Table III. Appendix A), that though there was a continuous rise, which resulted in a total increase of 40 per 100,000 of population during the eight years ending with 1882, there was a fall during that year of 3 per 100,000, and there has been no rise since that time.

*c. The Number of Pauper Lunatics in Private Dwellings.*

The Number  
of Pauper  
Lunatics in  
Private Dwell-  
ings in  
Different  
Localities.

The statistics of pauper lunatics in private dwellings, which are also given in the tabular statements relating to the two selected groups of counties, are worthy of careful attention. The differences between the statistics of the two groups is greater in regard to this class of patients than in regard to patients in establishments. The number per 100,000 annually registered by the Board and left in private dwellings has been an average of 10 for the Highland and an average of less than 2 for the Lowland counties; while the number per 100,000 resident in private dwellings has been an average of 125 for the Highland and only 27 for the Lowland counties. We thus find that in proportion to the population a much larger number of persons become lunatics in private dwellings in the Highland counties. There has not been any very material increase or decrease in the number in either group during the five quinquenniads. In the Highland counties we find the number resident for the last quinquenniad the same as that for the first. It is necessary, however, in order to gain a true conception of the significance of this, that we should not overlook the fact that in the first period the 137 patients in private dwellings were additional to only 92 patients in establishments, and that in the last period they were additional to 225 patients who were in establishments. During the intervening time an important change must have occurred in the composition of the class of pauper lunatics in private dwellings, so that the 137 of the last quinquenniad by no means resembled, as regards the kind of persons included in

it, the 137 of the first quinquenniad. There had been a large sweeping into asylums of persons who were in private dwellings during the first period, and the list ceased to be recruited as it had formerly been by persons labouring under severe forms of insanity. All such cases were now sent to asylums, and the list of patients in private dwellings must have been recruited chiefly from among patients suffering from milder forms of mental unsoundness. There would therefore be among the 137 of the last quinquenniad many persons who would not have been recognised as pauper lunatics at all during the first. It is proper to keep this consideration in view, because it seems probable that if none but persons of the class treated as pauper lunatics in private dwellings at the earlier period were now placed on the register, the number would have become comparatively small. To form a true conception of the pauper lunacy in private dwellings in the Highland counties indeed, it should be regarded as a section of the mass of out-door pauperism which exists there. It will be observed in the tabular statement that the pauper lunatics in private dwellings in these counties had been gradually decreasing, while those in establishments had been increasing, up to the period of the Government grant; and that then the pauper lunatics in private dwellings began to increase again. This increase was produced to a considerable extent at least by placing on the register as pauper lunatics persons who had previously been treated as ordinary paupers, so as to enable the parishes to obtain a contribution from the grant in aid of their maintenance. In regard to the Lowland counties the smaller proportion of pauperism of all kinds which they contain indicates the reason for the smaller proportion of pauper lunatics in private dwellings. Where ordinary pauperism is small in amount, few of those who are burdened with the support of an insane relative require aid from the parochial rates, when it is not necessary to have recourse to the comparatively expensive proceeding of paying for their board in an asylum.

## II. THE PRESENT POSITION OF THE BOARDING-OUT SYSTEM.

In connection with the subject of pauper lunatics in private dwellings, it is desirable to give some account of what has been called the "boarding-out system" in Scotland. This is, in its special characteristic, the placing of easily managed pauper lunatics under care in private dwellings, instead of detaining them in asylums. It is obvious that many persons on the register as pauper lunatics in private dwellings, such as those who have been brought on the register in order to obtain a share in the grant, cannot quite accurately be described as boarded out. In the strictest sense of the term, perhaps only those who are placed under the care of strangers ought to be so described. But with regard to all pauper lunatics living with their relatives, it is to be observed that they would not be upon the registers of the Board if it were not for their pauperism. Neither private nor pauper

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lunatics living with their relatives, when the relatives are not paid for their maintenance, come officially under the cognisance of the Board. If it were not, therefore, that the relatives of pauper lunatics are unable to support them without aid from the rates, such patients would not come under our supervision. The pauper lunatics boarded with strangers stand in an altogether different position. Their position is analogous to that of private patients in private dwellings who are kept for profit, and who come under our supervision for that reason. It will be seen from these considerations that it is proper to examine the statistics of the two classes, those with relatives and those with strangers separately.

It is perhaps desirable to point out that though the pauper lunatics boarded with strangers are those who are most correctly described as provided for under the boarding-out system, which has been fostered by the Board, we have done nothing to encourage the placing of pauper lunatics with strangers rather than with relatives. The origin of this boarding-out system is described at some length by Dr Fraser in his Report printed in Appendix C, and that report may be referred to for the details. It is sufficient here to say that the policy of the Board, of which the boarding out has been an outcome, has been to discourage the unnecessary or needlessly prolonged removal of pauper lunatics from the position which they would naturally have occupied if they had been sane; and where such removal is required, either for their own welfare or the public interest, to prevent the restrictions and other circumstances of their treatment from interfering more than is necessary with their natural mode of life. With this view, we have striven to prevent the unnecessary or inconsiderate removal of patients from their own homes, to encourage as far as possible the abatement of the prison features of asylums, and to stimulate the relegation of patients from asylums to their homes when asylum treatment ceased to be beneficial. In accordance with this, we have encouraged the transference of patients in asylums for whom asylum treatment had become unnecessary to the houses of strangers in their own position in life, but only when no relatives could be found able and willing to take efficient care of them. In this way the boarding out has had the effect of diminishing the demand for further asylum accommodation, and has permitted a considerable number of pauper lunatics to live in a way little removed in its character from the mode of life which they would have led had they not suffered from insanity. The question of the satisfactoriness of this mode of providing for the patients concerned is discussed in a previous section of the Report.

We found, from the tabular statement on page 14, that there was an average of 137 pauper lunatics per 100,000 of the population in the Highland counties resident in private dwellings during the first quinquenniad, and that there was an equal average in the last. We also found that in the Lowland counties there was an average of 32 in the first quinquenniad and of 28 in the last. But the numbers had been falling during the first period, and were rising again during the last period in both groups of

counties, the numbers therefore at the beginning of the first and at the end of the last were higher than these averages. The numbers for the Highland counties were 143 in 1860, and again 143 in 1885. The numbers for the Lowland counties were 37 in 1860 and 33 in 1885. Of the 143 for the Highland counties in 1860, 120 were with relatives, and 23 were with strangers,\* but of the 143 in 1885 only 98 were with relatives, and 45 were with strangers; and of the 37 for the Lowland counties in 1860, 28 were with relatives, and 9 were with strangers, but of the 33 in 1885, only 12 were with relatives, and 21 were with strangers. There has thus been a great decrease in the proportion with relatives, and a great increase in the proportion with strangers. This change has taken place in both groups of counties, but to a greater degree in the Lowland than in the Highland counties.

In dealing with the proportions per 100,000 of the population, there is the advantage of obtaining a comparison between the statistics of the two groups of counties upon a common basis. It perhaps involves a risk, however, of leading to a misapprehension of the position of Scotland as a whole; for it must be kept in view that the Highland and Island districts of Scotland contain only about a tenth of the total population. As therefore the position of the pauper lunatics in private dwellings possesses a special interest in relation to Scotch administration, we give in the following tabular statement the actual numbers in the two groups of counties, and also the total numbers in Scotland for every fifth year from 1860 to 1885.

On 1st January.	Number of Pauper Lunatics in Private Dwellings.					
	With Relatives.			With Strangers.		
	Highland Selected Counties.	Lowland Selected Counties.	Whole of Scotland.	Highland Selected Counties.	Lowland Selected Counties.	Whole of Scotland.
1860	479	558	1432	91	180	415
1865	392	446	1168	98	205	441
1870	328	358	986	102	230	483
1875	290	313	843	108	301	544
1880	346	294	855	133	278	560
1885	381	310	935	174	538	926
Increase since 1860,	...	...	...	83	358	511
Decrease since 1860,	98	248	497	...	...	...
Percentage of Increase or Decrease,	20	45	35	91	199	128

It is seen from this statement that since 1860, the pauper lunatics resident with relatives have decreased in Scotland from

\* In our statistics the patients living alone are generally given in combination with those with strangers. The number living alone has, however, always been so small as to be practically of no account in making comparisons. We have, therefore, not thought it worth while to eliminate them from the figures here dealt with.

The Present Position of the Boarding-out System.

1432 to 935, or 35 per cent., and that the pauper lunatics resident with strangers have increased from 415 to 926, or 123 per cent. A few words may be useful in regard to the nature of these changes.

It is to be observed in regard to the decrease among patients resident with relatives, that this would have been much greater if there had not been especially since 1875, as has been already mentioned, a placing of persons on the list of lunatics who would formerly have been dealt with as ordinary paupers. From 1860 to 1875 there was an average decrease of 196 every five years, and if this decrease had continued, there would have been only 451, instead of 935, in 1885. It thus appears that, owing to some cause which began to operate in 1875, and which may be fairly assumed to be the Government grant, there have been about 484 persons placed on the register as pauper lunatics resident with relatives. As might be anticipated from the greater prevalence of pauperism in the Highland counties, the grant has told with greater force on the numbers in these counties than in the Lowland counties. If the decrease had continued in the Highland group of counties at the same rate as it had done up to 1875, the number in 1885 would have been about 164, instead of 381, the grant having thus caused the number in 1885 to be greater by 217, or 132 per cent. If, on the other hand, the decrease had continued in the Lowland group of counties at the same rate after 1875 as it did previously, the number in 1885 would have been about 149 instead of 310, the increase caused being thus 161, or 108 per cent. Though the effect is thus proportionally less in the Lowland than in the Highland counties, it has been so great in both cases as probably to more than double the number of pauper lunatics resident with relatives at the present time. This inference, though it cannot of course be regarded as more than approximately established, seems to be justifiable as broadly true, and it affords another of the many illustrations of how greatly the statistics of what is officially recognised as lunacy, are affected by circumstances in no way related to the number of persons suffering from insanity.

The information furnished by the figures referring to pauper lunatics resident with strangers, is of a totally different character to that furnished by the figures referring to those resident with relatives. The first thing to which it seems desirable to direct attention, in regard to the patients belonging to this class, is that in all probability most of them would have been resident in establishments for the insane if they had not been boarded out. Their numbers have not been increased to any considerable extent by transferring to the list of lunatics persons who would otherwise have been on the poor roll as ordinary paupers. They have generally been at first pauper inmates of asylums; they have become pauper lunatics in private dwellings because they have ceased to require asylum treatment; and they have been boarded with strangers because no relative who was competent to take efficient care of them was found willing to undertake the duty. When the Board entered on its duties in 1857 a certain number of the pauper insane were found under the care of strangers in

private dwellings; and during the first years of the Board's The Present  
existence, its efforts in regard to these patients consisted chiefly Position of the  
in weeding out from among them such as were considered Boarding-out  
unsuitable for private care, and in obtaining the removal of System.  
the patients to asylums. As was stated in the early Reports of  
the Board, it was perceived that in a large proportion of the cases  
removal to an asylum was neither necessary nor even desirable,  
and that under efficient supervision, the boarding of pauper  
lunatics in private dwellings ought to be recognised as an integral  
part of any complete system of lunacy administration. It is  
unnecessary for the purposes of the present statistical inquiry to  
dwell further on the views of the Board in regard to this, except  
to point out that the Board resolved to encourage the develop-  
ment of the system as being the best mode of providing  
for a large proportion of the harmless and incurable class of  
pauper lunatics. There were, however, influences of no slight  
importance in existence which were not favourable to such  
development. The result of the inquiry by the Royal Com-  
mission, which reported in 1857, had been to expose many  
abuses in the treatment of pauper lunatics in private dwell-  
ings, and though the Board were of opinion that such  
cases were exceptional, and that they could be effectually  
provided against by a system of regular inspection, there was  
a wide-spread feeling that insane paupers could only be satis-  
factorily dealt with in asylums. This feeling was prevalent  
among asylum medical officers and parochial authorities, and  
without their co-operation little could be done in the direction  
of boarding-out. Another important circumstance which tended,  
and which still tends, to hinder the general adoption of the  
system, lies in the fact, that the selection of suitable guardians,  
and the efficient supervision of them, necessarily involves an  
amount of trouble and responsibility on the part of inspectors  
of poor which they may not unnaturally seek to avoid. An  
influence of a counteracting tendency has of late years come  
into existence, where asylum accommodation has been insuffi-  
cient to meet the demands made on it, and where it has there-  
fore become necessary to provide for the admission of urgent  
cases by the removal of inmates whose condition did not seem  
to make further asylum detention imperative. But the system  
could never have attained any important position, had not superin-  
tendents of asylums and inspectors of poor begun to recognise its  
advantages, and to make vigorous efforts to put it in practice.

The duty of making such efforts is still far from being so gene-  
rally recognised as it ought to be by inspectors of poor, though  
every year there is evidence that the number of inspectors who  
do so is increasing. The parishes which have been most distin-  
guished for activity in this direction have been those of Elgin,  
the City Parish of Edinburgh, the City Parish of Glasgow, Inver-  
ness, Govan, New Monkland, Abbey, St Cuthbert's, and Paisley.  
The parish of Elgin has from the first had a considerable propor-  
tion of its lunatics boarded with strangers. During the first quin-  
quenniad (1860-64), the City Parish of Edinburgh began to board  
out; during the second quinquenniad (1865-69), the City Parish

of Glasgow began; it was not till the fourth quinquenniad (1875-79) that Inverness and Govan began; and it was not till the fifth quinquenniad that New Monkland, Abbey, St Cuthbert's, and Paisley began. The parish of St Cuthbert's, which had only 7 boarded out in 1881, had increased its number at the beginning of the present year to 49. The activity shown by the inspectors of the nine parishes has contributed a considerable proportion—more than one half of the total increase in Scotland—during the twenty-five years. The total increase is 511, and the increase for the nine parishes is 275. The increase for the whole of Scotland is, however, an increase on an original number of 415, and is only an increase of 123 per cent.; while the increase for the nine parishes is an increase on an original number of 17, and is in proportion to the original number an increase ten times as great. It is thus seen that the carrying out of the policy of boarding out is the result of the definite adoption of a particular view of the way in which lunatics of the easily managed class may be best provided for. The Parochial Boards and inspectors of many parishes have not yet adopted this view. Many, such as the populous parish of Barony in Glasgow, and the parish of St Nicholas in Aberdeen, have failed to perceive the impropriety of detaining their pauper lunatics unnecessarily in establishments. These parishes, which had 2 and 0 respectively boarded out in 1860, had 10 and 1 respectively boarded out at 1st January 1885.

It has been supposed that the circumstances of Scotland especially the existence within it of extensive districts which are sparsely inhabited, make it peculiarly suitable for the development of this system. It is well, therefore, to point out that the great increase in the number of boarded-out patients has taken place in the Lowland counties, and not in the Highland counties. All the nine parishes which we have referred to as having shown special activity in boarding out are, with the exception of Inverness, Lowland parishes, and the localities in which the patients are placed, are for the most part Lowland villages and their neighbourhoods. It is incorrect, therefore, to look on the system as specially suited to a sparsely populated country. Indeed, many reasons could be adduced in support of a directly contrary opinion. It is sufficient, however, at present, to draw attention to the fact, that it is not in such districts that the system has attained its fullest development.

Before leaving this subject, reference may be made again to the tabular statement on page 21 to show the effect which the operation of the Government grant has had on the boarding out. It must be borne in mind, that one of the advantages which the system of boarding pauper lunatics in private dwellings possesses, is that the average expense is less than what is required for their maintenance in asylums, and the cost of providing asylum accommodation for them is altogether avoided. Motives of economy, therefore, help to induce Parochial Boards to regard the system with favour. The effect of the Government grant being, however, to relieve the parochial rates of a large part of their expenditure for lunatics, economical motives for a time lost their

usual force, and the more expensive mode of provision was more largely resorted to. As we showed in a previous Report (Twenty-first Report, p. xvii), the number of pauper lunatics in asylums, which had been increasing for some years at an average of about 90 per annum, suddenly further increased in 1875, and reached during the following seven years an average increase of more than 250 per annum. This freer use of asylum accommodation was, as might be expected, coincident with an arrest in the growth of the number of patients boarded out with strangers, and led in the Lowland, which is also the richer of the selected group of counties, to an actual decrease, as shown in the table, from 301 to 278. In the Highland counties there was also an arrest in the development of boarding-out in its true sense, that is, in the removal of harmless and incurable patients from asylums to private dwellings. But the number boarded with strangers received an accession from the placing on the roll, as pauper lunatics, paupers of weak mind who had been, up to the period of the Government grant, in the position of ordinary paupers boarded with strangers. These cases were sufficiently numerous to more than counterbalance the falling-off in the number really boarded out; and there was consequently a considerable increase, as shown in the table, of the number of persons registered as pauper lunatics boarded with strangers in these counties. This increase in the Highland counties, it will be understood, has not been sufficient to prevent the general result for the whole of Scotland showing a distinct check in the growth of the figures. It will be remembered that, in the case of pauper patients with relatives, the effect of the grant was to arrest a decrease in their number, and change it into an increase. The interesting fact is, therefore, brought out that in these two classes of lunatics in private dwellings—those boarded with strangers and those boarded with relatives—the same cause produced exactly opposite effects.

The Present  
Position of the  
Boarding-out  
System.

